

Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 099113 TOSEC 040129

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LONDON FOR SECRETARY'S PARTY, CAPETOWN FOR EMBASSY

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG, SF, WA, UR, US

SUBJECT: NAMIBIA - POSSIBLE DISCUSSIONS WITH SOVIETS

1. DURING ANY DISCUSSION OF AFRICAN ISSUES IN MOSCOW, WE
BELIEVE IT WOULD BE USEFUL FOR SECRETARY TO RAISE SUBJECT
OF NAMIBIA WITH SOVIETS. ALTHOUGH FOR REASONS OUTLINED
BELOW WE DO NOT BELIEVE THAT SOVIETS WILL BE INCLINED TO
HELP ON THIS ISSUE, WE SEE SOME ADVANTAGE IN EXPLAINING
AGAIN TO THEM THE BENEFITS WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL FLOW FROM
AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA.

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2. U.S. OBJECTIVES: TO NEUTRALIZE THE SOVIET CAPABILITY
TO INTERFERE WITH THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE CONTACT GROUP
INITIATIVE.

SOVIET OBJECTIVES: TO MAINTAIN THEIR POSITION AS A

RELIABLE SUPPORTER OF AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS; TO AVOID GIVING ANY BASIS FOR A POSSIBLE CHINESE CHARGE THAT THE USSR IS WORKING WITH THE WEST AGAINST AFRICAN INTERESTS.

ESSENTIAL FACTORS: ALTHOUGH THERE HAVE BEEN SOME DAY-TO-DAY DISCUSSIONS IN NEW YORK BETWEEN THE TWO UN DELEGATIONS,

WE HAVE NOT ATTEMPTED ON A REGULAR BASIS TO KEEP THE SOVIETS INFORMED OF THE STATUS OF OUR NAMIBIAN INITIATIVE. WHEN WE HAVE RAISED THE ISSUE WITH THE SOVIETS, THEIR RESPONSE HAS BEEN TO EXPRESS SKEPTICISM THAT OUR EFFORT WOULD SUCCEED IN THE FACE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INTRANSIGENCE AND TO STATE THEIR SUPPORT FOR SWAP\$. FIRST DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER KORNIYENKO'S DISTINCTLY UNENTHUSIASTIC REACTION TO THE PRESENTATION OF THE CONTRACT GROUP PROPOSAL (MOSCOW'S 7775 BEING REPEATED TO YOU) CLEARLY EXPRESSED THE BASIC SOVIET ATTITUDE ON THE NAMIBIA ISSUE.

THUS FAR, THE SOVIETS HAVE BEEN CAREFUL NOT TO GET OUT IN FRONT OF THE AFRICANS ON THE NAMIBIA ISSUE, AT LEAST AS FAR AS THEIR PUBLIC POSTURE IS CONCERNED. DURING THE INFORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL CONSULTATIONS ON APRIL 13, THE SOVIETS MADE A LOW-KEY STATEMENT AND-ALLOWED THE AFRICANS TO TAKE THE LEAD IN OPPOSING THE CONTACT GROUP PROPOSAL FOR COUNCIL ACTION PRIOR TO THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA (APRIL 24 - MAY 5).
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THE SOVIETS HAVE REPORTEDLY BEEN QUITE ACTIVE BEHIND THE SCENE IN DRUMMING UP OPPOSITION TO OUR EFFORT TO SECURE SOME ACTION IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL

THE BEST WAY TO NEUTRALIZE THE SOVIET POTENTIAL FOR COMPLICATING OUR NAMIBIAN INITIATIVE IS MOST LIKELY THROUGH THE AFRICANS. HOWEVER, WE BELIEVE THAT IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO POINT OUT, IN THE CONTEXT OF AN OVERALL REVIEW OF AFRICAN ISSUES, THAT AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA WOULD SERVE TO REMOVE A POTENTIALLY DIFFICULT ISSUE FROM THE US-SOVIET AGENDA AND WOULD, THEREFORE, BE IN SOVIET INTEREST AS WELL AS OURS.

POINTS TO BE MADE MADE:

1. TOGETHER WITH THE UK, FRANCE, THE FRG AND CANADA, WE SUBMITTED OUR PROPOSAL FOR A NAMIBIAN SETTLEMENT TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL ON APRIL 10.
2. IN TAKING THIS STEP, WE WERE MOTIVATED BY THE VIEW THAT

AN INTERNATIONALLY-ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT IN NAMIBIA WAS WITHIN REACH AND THAT WE NEEDED TO MOVE QUICKLY.

3. OUR ACTION WAS IN NO WAY AIMED AT BY-PASSING THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA, WHICH CAN PLAY A USEFUL ROLE IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY'S CONTINUING EFFORTS ON THE BEHALF OF NAMIBIAN INDEPENDENCE.

4. HOWEVER, UNDER RESOLUTION 385, THE SECURITY COUNCIL ASSUMED CERTAIN RESPONSIBILITIES IN NAMIBIA, AND WE BELIEVE THAT THE CONTACT GROUP INITIATIVE IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THAT RESOLUTION.

5" WE HOPE THAT THE USSR WILL AVOID ANY STEPS WHICH
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MIGHT COMPLICATE OUR EFFORTS TO CREATE A FAIR AND JUST FRAMEWORK FOR THE INDEPENDENCE OF NAMIBIA. WE BELIEVE THAT BOTH OUR COUNTRIES WOULD BENEFIT FROM A SITUATION IN WHICH NAMIBIA SECURED INDEPENDENCE PEACEFULLY AND IN A MANNER WHICH WOULD BE ACCEPTABLE TO THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY. THE ALTERNATIVE, ESCALATING STRIFE AND BLOOD-SHED, IN WHICH THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT CHOOSE TO PLAY A ROLE, COULD ONLY PUT ADDITIONAL STRAINS ON OUR BILATERAL RELATIONS.

6. (IF GROMYKO OBJECTS THAT CONTACT GROUP EFFORT REPRESENTS AN EFFORT UNDER ARTICLE 12 OF THE CHARTER TO PREVENT ACTION BY THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION ON NAMIBIA) AS I NOTED EARLIER, WE HAVE NO INTENTION OF TRYING TO BY-PASS THE SPECIAL SESSION AND WE DO NOT INTEND TO USE ARTICLE 12 TO ARGUE AGAINST DECISIONS BY THE SPECIAL SESSION.

NOTE: TEXT OF ARTICLE 12 READS AS FOLLOWS:"WHILE THE SECURITY COUNCIL IS EXERCISING IN RESPECT OF ANY DISPUTE OR SITUATION THE FUNCTIONS ASSIGNED TO IT IN THE PRESENT CHARTER, THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY SHALL NOT MAKE ANY RECOMMENDATION WITH REGARD TO THAT DISPUTE OR SITUATION UNLESS THE SECURITY COUNCIL SO REQUESTS.

THE SECRETARY-GENERAL, WITH THE CONSENT OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL, SHALL NOTIFY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY AT EACH SESSION OF ANY MATTERS RELATIVE TO THE MAINTENANCE OF INTERNATIONAL PEACE AND SECURITY WHICH ARE BEING DEALT WITH BY THE SECURITY COUNCIL AND SHALL SIMILARLY NOTIFY THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY, OR THE MEMBERS OF THE UNITED NATIONS IF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY IS NOT IN SESSION, IMMEDIATELY THE SECURITY COUNCIL CEASES TO DEAL WITH SUCH MATTERS.

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